

**CEPPS/IRI Bosnia and Herzegovina Report: January 1 – March 31, 2005**  
**Bosnia and Herzegovina: Local Political Party, Ministry Communications and Policy**  
**Analysis Development Program**  
**USAID Cooperative Agreement No. 168-A-00-03-00106-00**  
**Project Dates: July 1, 2003 – June 30, 2005**  
**Total Budget: \$1,200,000     Expenses to date: \$586,593**  
**Project # 8050**

## **I.     Summary**

IRI deployed resident program officer Barb Broomell to Sarajevo on January 24, 2005. Broomell previously served as resident program director in IRI's Bucharest, Romania office. IRI conducted a series of preliminary meetings and a series of seminars for the local political party development program. IRI accelerated activity in the policy analysis component of the program, while holding several meetings and reevaluating where IRI stands in the government communications portion of the program. Program activity for the first portion of the reporting period was lighter due to the transition to the new resident program officer.

## **II.     Program Activities**

### *A.     Local Political Party Development Program*

In January, IRI Europe acting division director David Lintgen and newly deployed resident program officer Barb Broomell held a series of meetings with political party leaders in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. These meetings were primarily introductory in nature. Members of all parties expressed their desire for continued cooperation with IRI at the local and national level. Party officials also expressed a strong desire for intensified assistance in the lead-up to the 2006 parliamentary elections. Lintgen and Broomell met with officials from the SDP (Social Democratic Party), NSRzB (The "Work For Progress" Party), the HSS (the Croatian Peasants Party), the NHI (the New Croatian Initiative), the SNSD (The Alliance of New Social Democrats), the SP (The Socialist Part of the RS) and the DNS (the Democratic People's Union).

During this reporting period, IRI shifted the focus of its local political party development program to training officials recently elected in the November 2004 elections. To this end, IRI conducted a training seminar on February 12 for newly elected mayors and councilors focusing on being accountable to the electorate and developing an agenda for their upcoming terms. This seminar drew participants from all across the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the Republic of Srpska. Thirty newly elected local officials from SDP, SNSD, NSRZB, NHI, SDP, DNS and DPS attended the training. IRI utilized data from its latest public opinion poll to help the local officials understand actual public perception of local governance, most important community issues and the party structure. Discussion continued with ideas and suggestions for improving constituent relations and involving citizens in the decision making process. (Attachments A, B and C)

IRI also conducted a three-day seminar for political party officials on survey research in consultation with USAID. The goal of this seminar was to teach IRI political party partners in the Federation and in the RS how to incorporate effectively survey research tools into their political programs. IRI's US based polling consultant Dave Williams was joined by local polling partner Dino Djipa to present lectures on the importance and benefits of polling, how to design a polling questionnaire, data collection methods, training volunteers, how to field focus groups, analysis and utilization of data, and integrating poll results into a political strategy. Seminar participants worked with IRI staff and trainers to field a small, sample poll during the seminar, utilizing the information learned in the workshops. Sarajevo based Prism Research also conducted a focus group during the seminar, which participants watched via live feed to the training room. There was an extremely high degree of interest in this seminar, with virtually every party asking if they could bring additional participants. (Attachments D, E, F, G, H, I and J)

Throughout the reporting period, IRI staff also conducted ongoing consultations and discussions with officials from various local party organizations in Teslic, Trebinje, Odzak, Livno, Kostajnica and Gradinska. In addition, IRI began preparations for an Internal Party Communications seminar to be conducted in early April.

#### *B. Ministerial Communications Program*

During the previous reporting period, IRI had conducted preliminary discussion with three ministries to launch program activity after a delayed start due to an emphasis on local elections. IRI planned to cooperate with the Ministries of Defense, Security, and Foreign Affairs, to develop a communications strategy and implement a training regimen. IRI continued consultations only with the Ministry of Defense in this reporting period.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Security proved to be difficult partners as they have shown little interest in receiving training or consultations from IRI. In both cases, IRI has had a difficult time in identifying a ministry program contact to help facilitate communication and coordination effectively. In light of these developments and in consultation with USAID, IRI conducted a new round of initial program meetings with the press offices of the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Both the press offices of the Council of Ministers and Ministry of Foreign Trade proved to be marginalized to such an extent by their respective ministers and understaffed that starting with a training regime including strategic communications and message development seemed far too advanced at this point in time. In fact, at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, IRI met with the Communications Director who allegedly was tasked with simply being a ministry liaison for a University of Sarajevo speakers' series. The minister has reportedly cut off all communication with the press, not even answering journalists' questions or granting interviews. IRI would still like to include both of these ministries in an internal lobbying effort to build relations between the ministers' staffs and the communications departments. Without this internal relationship, external communications will not function.

IRI was encouraged in its March meeting with Zijada Dzapo of the Ministry of Civil Affairs. Ms. Dzapo has done an excellent job of inserting herself on the minister's staff; has the ear of the minister himself, and serves as his spokesperson. While internal communications in this ministry proved better than all of IRI's other contacts, improvement is still needed in the establishing of a fully functional, pro-active press office. Ms. Dzapo was supportive of IRI's program and expressed interest in having IRI assist with the strategic communications planning of the Ministry's upcoming public awareness campaign on Bosnia and Herzegovina's demining initiatives. While the public awareness campaign itself will be a task force of numerous stakeholders in the de-mining issue, Ms. Dzapo noted that perhaps IRI could help coach the ministry along in the process. IRI staff discussed the possibility of using survey research to help develop the message for the public awareness campaign and test public reaction to the message over time. Pending USAID consultation and approval on including the Ministry of Civil Affairs as a program partner, IRI is encouraged that this avenue could present a best practice teaching tool for other ministries later in the program.

Finally, IRI met with Amer Kapetankovic in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding his proposed changes to the Press and Public Relations office of the Council of Ministers. Mr. Kapetankovic worked for roughly 10 years as a journalist in BiH, served as spokesperson for the Council of Ministers and has traveled on a study mission to the U.S. to review the press offices of the White House and Department of Defense. Based on the knowledge gained from that trip, a fall meeting with IRI, and in consultation with the Prime Minister, Mr. Kapetankovic drafted changes to the organization and functions of the government's press office. Unfortunately, his changes have been ignored in the ministry. OHR also reviewed the proposed models and discussed whether or not to impose the suggested changes, but nothing has happened as of the date of this report. Due to our program focus on ministry communications, Mr. Kapetankovic discussed with IRI the possibility of utilizing his models and promoting them through our program. IRI evaluated his plan and found merit in his ideas.

### *C. Policy Analysis Development Program*

In this quarter, IRI met with Chris Miller of the Urban Institute on three different occasions to discuss the development of think tanks in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the possibilities of working on politically centered think tank development. In the end, IRI and the Urban Institute agreed to coordinate efforts in think tank development and networking opportunities with political parties.

Following these meetings, IRI developed a pilot project whereby the Institute intends to commission research on five key areas encompassing priority citizen concerns identified in IRI's 2004 Survey Research Project. IRI selected policy analysts will provide a 40 – 50 page report on the assigned subject matter, including recommendations. The researchers will join IRI staff to present findings to political party partners during a policy analysis retreat in July 2005 and will also assist with follow-on consultations.

The topics chosen for the project were purposefully broad in order to capture as much information and interest among IRI political party partners as possible. IRI chose corruption, the

macro economy and the business sector, the health and the social sector, judicial reform and public administration reform. IRI staff wrote brief terms of reference for each topic and held a competitive competition throughout February and March for interested policy analysts and think tank organizations. (Attachments K, L, M, N and O)

IRI received over thirty applications for the research projects in late February and immediately began a paper panel review to determine the best-qualified candidates. Candidates who passed the paper panel review were invited to IRI's offices for an interview and an opportunity to discuss their research proposals during the week of March 21. IRI expects to complete the approval process and sign contracts with selected candidates in early April.

In addition, IRI started to complete work on a training strategy for both policy analysts and political parties, which will run simultaneously with the research projects. IRI will work with its selected researchers to help them understand the political implications of their work and how to defend it in a political versus an academic setting. The Institute will also work with political party partners during the research phase to develop their policy analysis skills and increase their capacity to utilize such research in creating issue-based platforms and political agendas.

#### *D. Public Opinion Research*

IRI is currently under negotiation with USAID on its Public Opinion Research program component. The Institute submitted a strategy plan for using polls and focus groups to support training and consultation initiatives in the local party building, ministry communications and policy analysis program.

#### *Other meetings and activities:*

IRI started recruitment this quarter for an additional expatriate Resident Program Officer to be staffed in the Sarajevo office. The Institute's Country Director will divide program responsibilities with the second RPO to allow for increased activities under the ministry communications and policy analysis programs, while maintaining a high level of activity with political party partners during this important political planning year. In addition, IRI started recruitment for a local Research Assistant who will assist the Sarajevo office with event planning and coordination.

Finally, in early March, IRI met with USAID's democracy assessment team including Political Party Advisor Alexander Sokolowski, Governance Advisor Keith Smith, Democracy Director Michael Henning, Senior Democracy Officer Shawna Wilson and Cognizant Technical Officer Svjetlana Deraijic. IRI staff provided a political update to the assessment team, reviewed the current political goals of political party partners and discussed IRI's upcoming plans in brief.

### **III. Upcoming Activities**

Next 30 Days:

- Local party communications training seminar.
- Individual message development consultations with ministry staff.
- Training seminar for local party political analysis partners by European think tank trainer.
- Ongoing research for issue-oriented papers.
- Deploy new Resident Program Officer. (TBD)
- Hire Research Assistant.

Next 60-90 days:

- Second in series of communications/organizational seminars for newly elected municipal officials.
- Continued individual message and agenda development consultations with recently elected municipal officials.
- Local party communications training seminar.
- Training seminar for government ministry officials with European and US trainer.
- Individual message development consultations with ministry staff.
- Field public opinion survey with oversamples.
- Wave of ten focus groups.
- Two-way intra-party communications training seminar.
- Local outreach training seminar for municipal officials.
- Ministry program focus groups. Present results and consult with ministry staff.
- Individual consultations with political party officials to discuss usage of policy analysis capabilities.
- Research papers, final report due.

#### **IV. International Travel Expected Under the Grant over the Next 90 Days**

- US polling consultant will travel to Bosnia to present polling results.
- European think tank trainer will travel to Bosnia for policy analysis training.
- US/European trainer will travel to Bosnia for government communications training.
- US trainer will travel to Bosnia for seminar for mayors and councilors.
- IRI Bosnia office manager will travel to the US for accounting training.

#### **V. Issues, Problems and Recommendations**

IRI continues to be troubled by the suspension of the public opinion polling component of its program. IRI believes that in order to be effective, and properly utilized, the public opinion polling must be consistent. IRI has found across the region that if regular polling is used, the partner political parties respond better and more effectively use the data. The more often that party officials see fresh data, the more ingrained it becomes in their thought processes. It often takes some time for parties to internalize polling information and make it a regular part of their

issue development. IRI has numerous examples of political parties basing issue focused campaigns and strategies on IRI polling. If parties are not exposed to accurate polling data regularly, they will not tend to make the best use of it, as it will be regarded as “old news” rather quickly. Immediate resumption of IRI’s public opinion polling program component

## **VI. Obligations and Expenditures**

See attached financial disclosure statement.

## **VII. Results and Accomplishments**

### **Result 1**

Major Political Parties cultivate and pursue issues-based political strategies.

**Indicator A.** *Local political parties develop and articulate a coherent political platform.*

The SNSD initiated a started a second round in their campaign to abolish obligatory military service and to cut military budgets. This issue resonates most with young males over 18 who are first time voters as well as with middle-aged females. IRI has been encouraging SNSD through training and consultations to consider input from their membership on issues and priorities. The SNSD developed this initiative with the assistance of their youth auxiliary. In the first stage of campaign, six months ago, the SNSD collected 37,000 signatures from all over the RS in five days. The SNSD presented this to the National Assembly of the RS, but they refused to consider it. The SNSD plans to continue this effort to collect more signatures as a means to help force the government on military reform with the backing of the international community.

The SDP raised the issue of support and protection for local producers and cost-benefit analysis of free trade agreements in the BiH Parliament. This is relevant as IRI had consistently advised SDP party officials about how IRI polls showed that the major concerns of the population in BiH are the economy and unemployment. These issues have a direct impact on the economy and unemployment. In IRI’s ongoing consultations with the SDP, IRI has discussed various avenues of addressing economic and unemployment issues.

The NHI strongly criticized HDZ vice president and member of the BiH presidency Dragan Covic, who was indicted for corruption and abuse of power. IRI polls showed that crime and corruption is the second biggest concern of the citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Covic refused to resign stating that the indictment against him is indictment against Croat people and their legally elected officials. The NHI strongly attacked Covic stating that he cannot escape avoid responsibility for his crimes by claiming that the prosecution is ethnically motivated. The corruption and crime that are rife throughout HDZ structures and state institutions is one of the primary reasons that Croats do not turn out to vote in elections, thus putting Croats at a disadvantage relative to the other ethnic groups.

**Indicator B.** *Percentage of citizens who believe that the local government officials are addressing issues of concern to them increases.*

No results to report at this time.

**Indicator C.** *Voter turnout in local elections increases.*

No results to report at this time.

**Indicator D.** *Transparency of local commission and executive branch operations; availability of budgets and financial statements to the public, NGOs and the media.*

IRI's 2004 polling project found that there is an overwhelming perception among the electorate that fresh leadership and a new political culture are needed in BiH. Based on this data the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS) decided to make a major reform and completely change the senior party leadership in order to present its new party face for the upcoming parliamentary election in 2006. Current President Rasim Kadić, General Secretary Nijaz Nurković, and other party leaders decided to resign from their current positions and become regular members of the party. The Party Congress will take place on April 24, 2005, the date when their replacements will become official. At the congress, party members from all municipal boards will have the opportunity chance to vote for new leaders. In accordance with IRI's advice, the current leadership is making a media campaign presenting and trying to capitalize on the true nature of the internal party changes. LDS officials informed IRI that initial reactions from the public were very positive and encouraging.

In addition, LDS committed itself to promote a new political doctrine that will put its voters in its main focus. New party leadership will be obligated to report to the Main Board, Presidency, and Supervisory Board on a regular basis about their activities in those terms.

## **Result 2**

Selected government ministries develop and pursue integrated communications strategies.

### **Indicators:**

**Indicator A.** *Increase in percentage of citizens who believe that the selected ministries operate transparently with participatory and thoughtful processes.*

No results to report at this time.

**Indicator B.** *Increase in the amount of policy meetings that are open to the public and to the media.*

No results to report at this time.

**Indicator C.** *Increase in percentage of citizens who understand what the selected ministries are working and what their goals are.*

No results to report at this time.

**Indicator D.** *Selected ministries implement an integrated communications strategy for the public and the news media.*

After having a number of meetings with selected ministries at the national level, IRI realized that majority of the ministries do not have the capacities to absorb assistance on developing their communications networks. In most cases, ministries do not have employees within their press offices. Additionally, the people who do work in the PR Offices generally have no authority, and are not little ability to perform their duties. However, some encouraging developments have occurred recently. Following an introductory program meeting with IRI, Mirjana Micevska, the head of the PR Office of the Council of Ministers, initiated a networking event for PR employees within all of the ministries for the very first time. The main objective was to establish a link between different PR Offices within different ministries in order to improve existing communication.

**Result 3**

Local political parties and elected officials develop and use local policy analysis organizations to help them develop and vet policy strategies.

**Indicators:**

**Indicator A.** *Increase in the utilization by local political party organizations and local elected officials and council members of external policy analysis organizations as well as increased use of internal policy analysis organizations in developing public policy proposals.*

No results to report at this time.

**Indicator B.** *Increase in percentage of citizens who can link the political identity of a party to its principles and its stances on key policy issues.*

No results to report at this time.

**Indicator C.** *Increase in the extent to which political parties and local government institutions commission public research to determine and prioritize what issues are important to their constituencies and the subsequent use of policy analysis organizations to formulate effective policy solutions to address these concerns.*

NSRZB or “za BoljitaK” party decided to avoid “blind” campaigning without polling research for the 2006 elections. Since they were unsure whether IRI would continue to field polls in Bosnia this year, they decided to order a poll from Prism Research and to conduct some local polls on their own. Due to that fact, NSRZB asked to send additional people to IRI’s Advanced Seminar on Polling Research Methodology. Afterwards, NSRZB sent a follow up letter expressing how it was extremely useful for their future work and expressed willingness to attend future similar seminars. In addition, NSRZB asked the IRI team to organize a one-day seminar on campaigning



(strategic planning, advanced organizational approaches, etc) specially designed for NSRZB, taking into consideration their individual circumstances and training needs. They also asked for IRI's assistance in identifying what the most important issue are and for advice in how to develop viable solutions to those problems.

IRI's three day polling seminar for national and local party analysts, activists, leadership and elected officials generated much interest, with most parties requesting to send additional participants. The seminar gathered 65 participants, had a low drop-off rate and found that participants were engaged in all workshops. Most participants asked for a continuation of this seminar and requested all materials and presentations on CD.

Moreover, IRI issued five RFPs on different issues and received proposals from more than 20 individuals and NGO researchers. The selection process for IRI's pilot project found that there is a willingness to participate in this process and to present the research papers to the policy decision makers in political parties.

## **ATTACHMENTS:**

### **Attachment A**

#### **Agenda**

**Seminar for elected public officials -  
February 12, 2005  
Sarajevo**

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12:00	Participant Registration
12:30	Welcome and Introduction - IRI Country Director, Barbara Broomell
12:45	How to get reelected part I – Program Assistant, Davor Vuletic
13:30	Coffee Break
13:45	How to get reelected part II – Program Assistant, Zlatan Burzic
14:30	Summary - Barbara Broomell
14:45	Lunch
15:45	Questions & Answers

#### **Mission Statement and Conference Logistics:**

The seminar is aimed to elected politicians who hold a seat at the municipal board or a Mayor position. IRI feels that it is vital for elected public officials to continue to enhance their capacities, promote transparent and accountable local governments in order to get reelected. Topics will include basics on Accountable Government and Corruption as well as the IRI Public Opinion Research.

Training will be conducted at the Hollywood Hotel in Sarajevo, Ilidža. IRI will pay for participants' lunch and will also reimburse participants (not from Sarajevo) for their transportation to/from the training session. Ticket stubs and/or fuel receipts must be provided in order to receive reimbursement

## Attachment B

### Participant List

Seminar for elected public officials -  
February 12, 2005  
Sarajevo

No.	Name	Political Party	Municipality
1	Marija Cavar	NSRZB	Siroki Brijeg
2	Karlo Zovko	NSRZB	Siroki Brijeg
3	Nada Jankovic	NSRZB	Siroki Brijeg
4	Bursac Svetlana	SNSD	Gradiska
5	Cvetkovic Marija	SNSD	Gradiska
6	Balaban Nebojsa	SNSD	Gradiska
7	Mijatovic Slavisa	SNSD	Teslic
8	Dragomir Pavlovic	SNSD	Teslic
9	Ivo Ivcevic	NHI	Kresevo
10	Bakic Ranko	NSRZB	Gradiska
11	Subotic Ljubo	NSRZB	Gradiska
12	Rodic Boro	NSRZB	Ostra Luka
13	Dusan Radusin	NSRZB	Krupa na Uni
14	Vujic Marko	NSRZB	Prijedor
15	Krizan Martinovic	NHI	Novi Travnik
16	Stipe Sliskovic	NHI	Novi Travnik
17	Galic Vojin	SDP	Bosansko Grahovo
18	Bilcar Miroslav	SDP	Bosansko Grahovo
19	Erceg Stevan	SDP	Drvar
20	Angela Biberdzic	NHI	Fojnica
21	Momcilo Malenica	NHI	Travnik
22	Anto Petric	NSRZB	Odzak
23	Ilija Ilic	NSRZB	Odzak
24	Zlatko Spionik	NSRZB	Samac
25	Viteskic Fikret	SDP	Ilidza
26	Nenad Koprivica	DNS	Kasindo
27	Savo Golubovic	DNS	Kasindo
28	Celic Marko	DPS	Knezevo
29	Zerajic Milan	NSRZB	Knezevo

## Attachment C

### Participant Evaluations

**Seminar for elected public officials -  
February 12, 2005  
Sarajevo**

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#### **Evaluation Responses – Total 27/29 participants**

*By filling in this questionnaire, please express your appraisal of the conference in order to help us to improve our mutual work and cooperation in future.*

#### **I. Please assess the conference with a grade from 1 to 5 (5 = Highest).**

(5) – 14; (4) – 7; (3) - 5

#### **II. Which part of the conference did you find most useful?**

(All) – 13; (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>) – 5; (2<sup>nd</sup>) – 3; (3<sup>rd</sup>) – 6; (statistics) – 1; (lectures) – 1.

#### **III. Which part of the conference did you find the least useful?**

(There were no such parts) – 24;  
(examples from US, since political culture is not on the same level) - 2

#### **IV. Would you attend another conference of this sort?**

(Yes) – 24  
(Depends on the topic) - 1

#### **V. What kind of follow-up activities would you like to emerge from this conference?**

(To visit us in our municipalities) – 2;  
(A two days seminar to exchange the views and experience between the participants) – 1;  
(Better election law) – 1;  
(To evaluate does all of this works in BiH) – 1;  
(Longer gatherings and excursions) – 3;  
(Workshops) – 1;  
(Something new) – 1;  
(Presentation of best practices and experiences in BiH) – 2;  
(Get the ppt. slides) – 3;  
(Your (IRI's) insight in the way of campaigning of the nationalist parties) – 1.

**VI. Would you like to participate at a two day weekend seminar on similar issue?**

(Yes) – 25.

**VII. Other comments**

(Very useful and informative) – 2;

(Control of the election process is of great importance because stealing the votes discourage the voters) – 1;

(We are not that well financially situated to dedicate that much of attention to the field work) – 1;

(Seminar should present more concrete examples from BiH) – 2;

(This is also the help to BiH, step by step towards democracy) – 1;

(More attention should be dedicated to the topic “Women in politics” but from BiH perspective) – 1.

*Thank you in advance for your cooperation and for the time you took to fill in this questionnaire.*

## Attachment D

### Agenda

**Advanced Polling Seminar**  
**March 18 – 20, 2005**  
**Hollywood Hotel, Ilidza**

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**Friday, March 18**

**5:00 PM**      **Participant Arrivals**

**Registration and Hotel Check-ins**  
*Hotel registration desk*

**6:00 PM**      **Welcome and Introductions**

- Trainer, staff and guests introduction
- Participant introductions
- Review of seminar agenda and goals

***IRI Country Director, Barbara Broomell***  
*Hotel Dining Room*

**6:30 PM**      **Dinner**  
*Hotel Dining Room*

**7:30 PM**      **Importance and benefits of polling**

This introduction to polling will review the different stages of successful polls; from the initial concept of the goals hoped to be achieved, through conducting the poll, to how the data was applied in the end. The discussion will focus on the different types of surveys, as well as the uses and applications of polling data relative to campaigns, issues, legislation, demographics and public opinion. The trainer will also explain how polling data can both be used successfully by a political party and fit into a winning campaign strategy.

**David Williams, Williams and Associates**  
**Salem, Massachusetts**  
*Hotel Dining Room*

## Saturday, March 19

- 9:00 AM**      **Designing a polling questionnaire**  
This segment will involve both instruction and an interactive dialogue. The first half of the workshop will be dedicated to a review of the practical, how-to aspects of constructing a poll that yields meaningful, usable data. Closed-ended question and survey format, quality control and design will also be explored. During the second half of the workshop, the participants, under the direction of the trainer, will be given the opportunity to finalize the seminar questionnaire to be used by the volunteer pollsters. The poll should total 25-30 questions.  
**David Williams and;**  
**Dino Djipa, Prism Research**  
**Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina**  
*Seminar Hall*
- 11:00 AM**      **Coffee Break**  
  
*Preparation of questionnaire for data collection*  
*IRI staff*
- 11:30 AM**      **Data Collection**  
This segment is designed to train the seminar participants on data collection techniques. All major aspects of the data collection process will be reviewed in an orderly fashion. Special attention will be paid to low-cost and independent methods of data collection.  
**Dino Djipa**  
*Seminar Hall*
- 12:30 PM**      **Exercise: Training Volunteers**  
Building on the previous segment, IRI trainers and seminar participants will train a group of previously identified data collection volunteers. The group of volunteer data collectors being trained during this segment will be mostly young political activists from area universities and other institutions. After this segment, they will deploy in the area to begin conducting the poll and collecting data.  
**David Williams and Dino Djipa**  
*Seminar Hall*
- 1:30 PM**      *Volunteers disperse to conduct Poll/Collect data*
- 1:30 PM**      **Lunch**  
*Hotel Restaurant*

- 3:00 PM**      **Creating and applying information from the voter survey**  
 This segment will entail a discussion on how parties can effectively and accurately utilize the poll results, particularly in forming issue-oriented coalitions. A special emphasis should be placed on ways to present results to a cynical public so that they will be accepted as a genuine reading of views held by a segment of the public at a particular time.  
**David Williams**
- 4:30 PM**      ***Interviewers return from data collection***
- 5:00 PM**      **Study of models: compilation of data**  
 This portion of the seminar will be dedicated to an intense study of the systematic compilation of data, using examples from the seminar poll. IRI will utilize a computer and polling database software to compile its polling data. However, the trainer will also describe simpler methods of data entry with Excel software.  
**Dino Djipa**
- 7:00 PM**      **Dinner**

**Sunday, March 20**

- 9:00 AM**      **Focus groups**  
 The purpose of this workshop is to familiarize the participants with the concept of focus groups and to explain their purpose and function. It would be helpful for participants to discuss how to moderate focus groups and how to accurately and effectively use the results.  
**Dino Djipa**
- 10:00 AM**      **Review of an actual focus group**  
 IRI's trainer will conduct a focus group, using an assembled group of recruited participants. This segment provides an opportunity for hands-on-exposure to the concepts and techniques discussed in the previous segment. Prism Research Agency will conduct an actual focus group in a separate room and IRI will facilitate a live feed to the training room for seminar participants to watch, ask questions and make comments. The focus group moderator will join the seminar hall after the focus group is complete to answer questions of the participants.  
**Dino Djipa and Focus Group Moderator**
- 12:00 PM**      **Study of models: utilization of data**  
 Continuing to use different types of polling data as examples, participants will explore ways to utilize polling data in their political party work. There will be a discussion of the different types of reports that can be generated, as well as a discussion of cross-tabulation, probability and margin of error issues.  
**Dino Djipa**
- 1:00 PM**      **Seminar closing and evaluations**  
**IRI Country Director, Barbara Broomell**
- 1:30 PM**      **Lunch**  
*Hotel Restaurant*



# Attachment E

## Trainer Biographies

### Advanced Polling Seminar

March 18 – 20, 2005

Hollywood Hotel, Ilidza

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#### David Williams

David Williams is the Founder and President of Williams and Associates based in Salem, Massachusetts. Since its founding in 1989, Williams and Associates has consulted with both corporate and political clients including the campaign committee for Governor William F. Weld (R MA), U.S. Congressmen Peter Torkildsen (6th MA) and Peter I. Blute (3rd MA), the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the National Republican Campaign Committee, the Massachusetts Republican Party, GTE/Sylvania, the National Association of Government Employees, Freedom Communications WLNE-TV, the Providence Journal-Bulletin in Rhode Island, the Massachusetts Office of Travel & Tourism, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and Harvard University (Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study). From 1979 to 1989, Mr. Williams was an associate and an analyst at Cambridge Survey Research, and a senior vice president at Cambridge Reports Incorporated.

Internationally, Mr. Williams has conducted numerous survey projects in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Ukraine, and the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza. Among these projects have been four seminal exit polls. In 1998 the most accurate election day exit poll conducted in the Republic of Slovakia, and the first ever exit poll conducted in Macedonia's history conducted during the 2002 parliamentary elections, an election day survey for the inaugural elections in Afghanistan (October 2004), and the historic elections to choose Yasir Arafat's successor in the West Bank and Gaza territories (January 2005).

#### Dino Đipa

Dino Đipa is the co-Founder, co-Owner and current Research Director of Prism Research, one of the first and currently largest independent public opinion research agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In his capacity of Research Director of Prism Research, Mr. Đipa was responsible for the design and implementation of almost all major pre-election studies in Bosnia Herezgovina, Kosovo, Montenegro and Albania in the last 7 years. This includes pre-election studies for municipal elections in B&H in 2004, organized by IRI, general and municipal elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1998, 2000, 2002, organized by NDI and later OSCE, general elections in Kosovo in 2000, organized by OSCE and NDI, general elections in Montenegro in 2001 and 2003, organized by NDI, and general elections in Albania in 2005, organized by NDI. Mr. Đipa

is also the director of the largest public opinion tracking study in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Early Warning System of UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, running from 2000 to date. In addition, Mr. Đipa is the co-founder and Research Director of CEPOS, a domestic think tank organization working to analyze issues of community concern. From September 1997 to September 2000, Mr. Djipa worked at the University of Sarajevo as an associate to professors in the Department of Psychology.

Mr. Djipa received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from the University of Sarajevo. He conducted post-graduate studies in psychology, statistics and methodology of social research at the University of Zagreb and is currently pursuing a Master's degree in Business Administration through the University of Delaware.

## Attachment F

### Participant List

**Advanced Polling Seminar**  
**March 18 – 20, 2005**  
**Hollywood Hotel, Ilidza**

Name	Party	Position
Hamdija Surkovic	LDS	President of Canton Board
Ivo Matkovic	HSS	President of Municipal Board
Sara Pajic	DS	Technical Secretary
Danijela Selak	DS	Member of Party
Ruzica Miljenovic	DS	Member of Party
Aleksa Djokic	DS	Member of Party
Biljana Djokic	DS	Member of Party
Jadranka Ivkovic	LDS	Member of Party
Olivera Spaic	LDS	Member of Party
Milevic Olga	LDS	Member of Party
Bosko Vukovic	LDS	Member of Party
Jadranko Ohnec	NHI	Party Secretary
Esref Harcinovic	LDS	Municipal Councilor
Goran Jevtic	NSRZB	Member of Party
Maida Ibrekic	NSRZB	Member of Party
Karlo Zovko	NSRZB	Municipal Board Member
Vahida Bebanic	NSRZB	Member of City Board in Mostar
Dragana Joldzic	NSRZB	Municipal Board Secretary
Aida Visic Savic	NSRZB	Main Board Secretary
Almira Hamzic	NSRZB	Municipal Board Secretary
Marko Romic	NSRZB	General Secretary
Branislav Ristic	NSRZB	Member of Municipal Board
Dragan Milovic	HSS	Vice-President of Municipal Board Kiseljak
Angela Biberdzic	NHI	President of Municipal Board Fojnica
Ljubisa Markanovic	SNSD	President of SNSD Youth in Mrkonj Grad
Goran Trivic	SNSD	Municipal Councilor
Saudin Purivatra	LDS	Municipal Councilor
Valentina Peric	SNSD	Technical Secretary in Gradiska
Nebojsa Brcic	SP	Secretary of Municipal Board
Sabina Dervisevic	SDP	Member of the Main Board
Sanel Macic	SDP	Member of Municipal Board
Anja Mijanovic	SP	Member of Party
Veliborka Kablar	SP	Member of Presidency
Zoran Babic	DPS	President of Municipal Board Banja Luka
Admir Arnautovic	SDP	Vice-President of SDP's Youth Forum
Radivoj Majstorovic	DNS	Secretary of Municipal Council
Jeftic Risto	DNS	President of Municipal Board
Sasa Bursac	SNSD	Member of Municipal Board

Slaven Glavas	SDP	President of Cantonal Board SDP in Western Herzegovina
Marijana Bandic	SDP	Member of Party
Goran Simanic	SP	Member of Youth Forum
Srdjan Todorovic	SP	President of Socialist Youth Doboj
Miladin Savic	SP	Political Organizer of SPRS HQ
Mladen Lukic	SP	President of SP Youth
Milan Tukic	SNSD	Executive Secretary of Public Relations
Ljiljana Erbic	SNSD	Member of Municipal Board
Radoslav Filipovic	SNSD	President of Municipal Council of SNSD Sarajevo
Goran Obradovic	DNS	Secretary
Dzenan Hodzic	LDS	Member of Party
Boris Sekulic	DNS	Member of Party
Zdravko Butulija	SNSD	Municipal Councilor
Slavoljub Bacevic	DNS	President of Municipality Berkovici
Sasa Bulatovic	SP	Member of Executive Board Foca
Dragica Bacevic	DNS	Member of Party
Zaim Malikic	HSS	Anti corruption team of Executive Board of Brcko District
Zdenko Baresic	HSS	President of Municipal Board of Kresevo/ Municipal Councilor
Nenad Perisic	SDP	Member of the Presidency of Municipal Board in Rudo
Marina Bagaric	HSS	Member of Party
Denis Baric	HSS	Member of Party
Ljubomir Savic	SP	Member of Party

# Attachment G

## Participant Evaluations

### Advanced Polling Seminar

March 18 – 20, 2005

Hollywood Hotel, Ilidza

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### Evaluation Responses – Total 48/65 participants

*By filling in this questionnaire, please express your appraisal of the conference in order to help us to improve our mutual work and cooperation in future.*

#### I. Please assess the conference with a grade from 1 to 5 (5 = Highest).

(5) – 14; (4) – 31; (3) – 3

#### II. Which part of the conference did you find most useful?

- a) The importance of polls for political parties – 25
- b) Creation of the questionnaire – 27
- c) Collection of data – 9
- d) Interpretation and application of information gathered by the poll – 24
- e) Work with the focus groups – 12

#### III. Which part of the conference did you find the least useful?

- a) The importance of polls for political parties – 5
- b) Creation of the questionnaire – 3
- c) Collection of data – 1
- d) Interpretation and application of information gathered by the poll – 4
- e) Work with the focus groups – 8

**NO SUCH PART – 30**

#### IV. Was the model and language of presentation suitable for you?

- a) too easy – 1
- b) suitable/understandable – 43
- c) too technical and not understandable – 3

#### V. Do you have any concrete suggestion how IRI can support you and your political party in future?

- a) To come up with the analysis about farmers and agriculture production for HSS
- b) To maintain established contacts
- c) Continue the cooperation, especially concerning the researches for political parties as well as education of party membership how to use them and to focus on real problems

- d) Organizing seminars on other important issues too
- e) It is enough support that you organize this kind of seminars for representatives of different political parties where we can find out that we have common views at least in some issues and matters.
- f) More seminars like this
- g) To use more the DNS name in surveys
- h) It would be good if you can allow political parties to see the result of polls you conduct so they can direct their activities towards it
- i) Planning and implementing the campaign
- j) Open cooperation for help and suggestions
- k) IRI already helped much and is still helping our party
- l) More often contacts
- m) I have a lot of new information and my only suggestion is to make one more seminar on this topic and how to apply all we learned here
- n) Help political parties on research of public opinion and models how to use those data
- o) Education of political candidates
- p) Help in public opinion poll and educate the executive party membership who deals with it

#### **VI. Other comments:**

- a) Thank you for showing the tendency to help in solving important problems in BiH. We obviously need this.
- b) The seminar was very good. I am sorry only that it was too intensive but I hope that the CD you promised to send will help me to understand better and apply what I learned.
- c) Don't change your experts
- d) Five for Dino
- e) Organize one or two more seminars for the same participants to enable them to apply this in their parties
- f) It is necessary to get written materials before presentations so we could follow the lecturers
- g) Everything was great. Best grades for all in the team
- h) Good seminar - combination of theory and practice
- i) Little bit more interactive approach
- j) Very intensive seminar, therefore sometime I could not follow
- k) It would be better if you plan your lectures for 45 minutes (these were very long) because of concentration and understanding of the topic
- l) More often pauses because after longer period concentration fails
- m) There were too many participants and the problem is the intrusion of certain participants during the lecture

*Thank you in advance for your cooperation and for the time you took to fill in this questionnaire.*

# **Attachment H**

## **Focus Group Exercise – Discussion Guide**

**Advanced Polling Seminar**

**March 18 – 20, 2005**

**Hollywood Hotel, Ilidza**

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### **1. INTRODUCTION**

- Presenting the Agency
- Short introduction about the goals of survey
- The rules of communication between the participants in Focus group – openness, honesty, not to force his/her own opinion to the others, spontaneous involving in discussion, nonexistence of wrong and right answers
- Explanation why the discussion is taped
- Introduction of moderators and participants

### **2. BIGGEST PROBLEMS**

- How would you explain current situation in BiH?
- What is personally the most disturbing (what concerns you most) for you and your family?
- What are the biggest problems that BiH citizens face currently?
- What are the main causes of those problems?
- Who is the most responsible for those problems?
- Who is able to solve them and under which conditions?

### **3. EXPECTATIONS**

- How do you see your life in five years?
- Which plans do you have for the future – concretely? What do you do to realize them?
- Are there some obstacles in realization of your planes? What kind of obstacles?
- Define three areas in which the improvements could make your life better in next year.

### **4. THE STANDPOINTS ABOUT POLITICAL PARTIES**

- What is the first thing you have in mind when you hear following sentence: “politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina”?
- How would you describe the work and attitude of political parties generally?
- What do you think who represents the best your rights and take care about your needs? Are they individuals? Groups? Political parties?

- What do you think which political party represent your interests best? Why?
- What are the strengths of political parties in BiH (SDP, SDA, SBiH)
- And what are their weaknesses?

#### 5. THE STANDPOINTS ABOUT POLITICIANS

- What do you think about politicians in BiH?
- What do you think are the most important issues politicians speak about or work on?
- What are their goals?
- Which politician, according to your opinion, represents your interests in the best way? Why?
- What do you think, which one of BiH politicians has the most of “leader” characteristics?

#### 6. INTEREST/MOTIVATION FOR JOINING POLITICAL PARTIES

- To which degree are the youth actively involved in current processes in society?
- What is the way young people get more engaged?
- Is anybody of you involved in work with political parties? If not why?
- Do you think about joining some political party? Why?
- Which are the factors that would motivate you to join them?

#### 7. INTEREST FOR THE ELECTIONS 2006.

- Did you vote on last local elections? Why yes/no?
- Are you planning to vote on elections 2006. Why yes/no?
- Which factors will be the most important to decide for whom would you vote? (Party platform? Politicians as individuals? Traditional choice? Family choice? Why?)

#### 8. FUTURE

- Do you think that current generation of political leaders and parties is able to cope with the problems that BiH is faced with? Why yes/no?
- Does BiH needs new generation of politicians? Why yes/no? What should be the difference between the future and current politicians?
- Is some new party needed? Why yes/no
- Let presume that some new political party is created? How should that party act to be different than already existing parties? How can it be seen on different way compared to existing parties?

#### 9. THE END

- If you have to add something...?

That would be all! Thank you!

# Attachment I

## Polling Exercise – Questionnaire

### Advanced Polling Seminar

March 18 – 20, 2005

Hollywood Hotel, Ilidza

DATE OF INTERVIEW

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CODE OF INTERVIEW

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START TIME OF INTERVIEW!

HR	MIN

#### **READ ALOUD TO RESPONDENT:**

Prism Research or 'Prizma istraživanja', is a professional public opinion polling agency that regularly conducts polls with citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina about current social, political and economic issues and problems.

Each of these surveys is conducted on a sample of over 200 citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, aged over 18 years. Participation in these polls is completely anonymous and voluntary. The responses given to the survey are analyzed as a group, never individually. We don't need your name and surname.

This survey will last for 5 min and we kindly ask you to cooperate.

Your opinion is very important as you are one of the over 200 citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina that have been randomly selected for participation in this survey. For these reasons, we kindly ask you for your participation and patience. Can we start?

**Q1. Would you please list the three most important problems being faced by citizens of this country currently? (DO NOT READ CODED RESPONSES! Mark first response with a circle in column "1", the second response in column "2"! And the third in column «3»! In each of the three columns mark in only one response!)**

Item	1.
A. Drugs/drug abuse	1
B. Corruption	2
C. Crime	3
D. Difficult economic situation	4
E. Bad interethnic relations	5
F. Possibility of the breaking out of armed conflict	6
G. Non functioning of rule of law	7
H. Non-arrest of indicted war criminals	8
I. Inability to return to own homes	9
J. Inability to regain own property	10
K. Unemployment	11
L. Low and/or irregular pensions	12
M. Low and/or irregular salaries	13
N. Education	14
O. Emigration of people from the country, especially young people	15
P. Behavior of the international community	16
Q. Pensions	17
R. Privatization	18
S. Poverty	19
T. High prices	20
U. Environmental pollution	21
V. Healthcare	22
W. Security	23
X. Non adequate political system	24
Y. Y. Other 1? (Write in!)	25



99. Do not know/Do not wish to answer	99

**Q2.** Can you tell me in which direction Bosnia and Herzegovina is moving in terms of the current political situation: the direction of worsening or in the direction of improvement? **(Circle only one response!)**

1. In the wrong direction (worsening) 1
2. In the right direction (improvement) 2
- Do not read!**
9. Do not know/Do not wish to answer 9

**Q3.** Now I will read to you few areas which are, according to some people, important for development of BiH, meaning about economic future of BiH. Can you tell us please, for each of those areas how important it is: is it very important; somewhat important; not really important or not important at all? **(Ask for each issue separately! In the «Answer» column write in the code of one of the coded responses listed below! If the respondent do not know or don't want to answer put code 9)**

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not really important
4. Not important at all

* Area	Answer
A. Agriculture	
B. Turism	
C. Industry	
D. High technologies	

**Q4.** Now I will ask you for your opinion about certain politicians. I would like to ask you to tell me for each of them do you have very favorable, favorable, unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion? **(Ask about each politician separately and write code no. in front of the offered answer in the column! If the respondent is unable or unwilling to respond, write in «9»!)**

1. Very favorable
2. Favorable
3. Unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable

**INTERVIEWER! IMPORTANT NOTE! ROTATE ORDER OF READING NAMES OF POLITICIANS.**

* FULL NAME	Answer
E. Čavić Dragan	
F. Čolak Bariša	
G. Dodik Milorad	
H. Halilovic safet	
I. Simic Ilija	
J. Lagumdžija Zlatko	
K. Ivanic Mladen	
L. Kadic Rasim	
M. Mladen Ivankovic-Lijanovic	
N. Petar Dokic	
O. Predrag Radic	
P. Kresimir Zubak	
Q. Dragomir Savic	

**Q5.** I will now ask your opinion about the presence of corruption in individual institutions that I am going to read to you. Please answer for each of them how much you think the corruption is present? None, in small portions, to some extent, very present. **(Ask about each institution separately and write the code no. that is in front of the offered answers in the «Response» column! If the respondent is unable or unwilling to respond, write in «9»!)**

1. None
2. In small portions
3. To some extent
4. Very present

**INTERVIEWER! IMPORTANT NOTE! ROTATE ORDER OF READING INSTITUTIONS.**

*	Item	Response
	A. Army of FB&H	
	B. Army of the RS	
	C. B&H Council of Ministers	
	D. B&H Parliamentary Assembly	
	E. B&H Presidency	
	F. Government of Federation B&H	
	G. Government of Republika Srpska	
	H. Government of this Canton	
	I. Government on this municipality	
	J. Mayor/president of this municipality	
	K. Municipal council/assembly	
	L. Constitutional Court of B&H	
	M. Journalists	
	N. European Union	
	O. NATO	
	P. OHR	
	Q. Opposition parties in B&H parliament	
	R. Opposition parties in the parliament of this entity	
	S. Parliament of Federation B&H	
	T. People's Assembly of Republika Srpska	
	U. United States of America	

**Q6.** Can you recall for which party did you voted for in the last municipal elections held in 2002, if you voted at all? **(Write in name of the party)**

--	--

**Do not read!**

**8. Did not vote on municipal election in 2000** **8**  
**9. Do not know/Do not wish to answer** **9**

**Q7.** What are the chances that you will vote in the municipal elections this year – definitely yes, probably yes, 50% yes - 50% no, probably no, or definitely no? **(Circle one response!)**

1. Definitely yes **1**  
2. Probably yes **2**  
3. 50% yes - 50% no **3**  
4. Probably no **4**  
5. Definitely no **5**

**Do not read!**

**9. Do not know/Do not wish to answer** **9**

**Q8.** If the parliamentary elections were to be conducted tomorrow, for which party would you be most likely to vote? **(Write in name of the party)**

--	--

**Do not read!**

**96. None** **96**  
**97. Won't vote** **97**  
**98. Do not know/I can't make my mind** **98**

**Q9.** Have you heard about the Law proposal on Expropriation of Illegally Gained Property. **(Circle just one answer)**

1. Yes  
2. No

**Do not read!**

**9. Do not know/Do not wish to answer** **9**

**Q10.** As you may heard the Law proposal on Expropriation of Illegally Gained Property exists. Do you strongly support, to some extent support, to some extent do not support or do not support at all the adoption of this Law? **(Circle just one answer)**

1. strongly support
2. to some extent support
3. to some extent do not support
4. do not support at all

**Do not read!**

**8. Nor supports nor is against** 8

**9. Do not know/Do not wish to answer** 9

**Q11.** Would you support the party that promotes the adoption of Law proposal on Expropriation of Illegally Gained Property – definitely yes, probably yes, 50% yes - 50% no, probably no, or definitely no? **(Circle one response!)**

1. Definitely yes 1
2. Probably yes 2
3. 50% yes - 50% no 3
4. Probably no 4
5. Definitely no 5

**Do not read!**

**9. Do not know/Do not wish to answer** 9

**Q12.** And what do politicians talk too little about these days? **(DO NOT READ CODED RESPONSES! After every response pose the question «One more?» until the respondent stops listing! CIRCLE ALL ANSWERS MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT!)**

1. Employment, how to open new working places, employ people 1
2. Economy/Agriculture 1
3. Poverty 1
4. Pensioners/ Why pensions are late and low 1
5. Youth/Youth should stay here/Youth problems 1
6. General economic situation/ Life standard 1
7. Bribe and corruption 1
8. Health care/Education issues 1
9. Refugees/Returnees issues 1
10. Dealing with real problems/General situation in country 1
11. Real people's problems/Social problems 1
12. Workers/Workers right, salaries, law 1
13. Future/Development/How deal with crisis 1
14. Criminal/Economy crime 1
15. War veterans issues 1
16. Production/Reconstruction/Open new factories 1
17. Union/Tolerance/Collectiveness 1
18. Legal, government system/Entity/Court system/State issues 1
19. Their own attitudes, crimes, mistakes, promises, truth 1
20. War criminals, war crimes 1
21. Joining European Union 1
22. Drugs issues 1
23. National interests of Croats 1
24. Something else? **(Write in!)** 1

**Do not read!**

**9. Do not know/Do not wish to answer** 9

**Q13.** What is your age? **(Write in age in years on the day of the interview. If the respondent does not answer, estimate age and write in!)**

**Write in years!**

**Q14.** How many years of schooling do you have completed in total? **(Write in number of years!)**

**Write in years!**

Q15. What is your current employment status? Are you ... **(Read all and circle only one response!)**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Working/Employed                          | 1 |
| Not working/Unemployed                    | 2 |
| <b><u>Do not read!</u></b>                |   |
| 8. Do not know/Not sure                   | 8 |
| 9. Refuse to answer/Do not wish to answer | 9 |

Q15. What is the amount of your monthly incomes in KM, if you have incomes? **(Write amount)**

**Write in amount!**

**Do not read!**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 8. Do not know/Not sure                   | 8 |
| 9. Refuse to answer/Do not wish to answer | 9 |

## **Attachment J**

### **Polling Exercise – Results**

**Advanced Polling Seminar  
March 18 – 20, 2005  
Hollywood Hotel, Ilidza**

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# Attachment K

## Terms of Reference – Corruption

### IRI Policy Analysis Pilot Project

March 1, 2005

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### **For research work in the area of Corruption**

Specific grant of International Republican Institute within the program of Policy Analysis

### **Basic information**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) was founded in 1983, as a nonprofit nonpartisan organization dedicated to advancing democracy, freedom, self-government and the rule of law worldwide. IRI programs are nonpartisan and adhere to the fundamental American principles of individual freedom, equal opportunity and the entrepreneurial spirit that fosters economic development. IRI Office in Bosnia and Herzegovina was opened in December 2005.

**The goal of this particular project is to establish the link between local independent researchers and/or think tanks on one side, and moderate, democratic political parties on the other side.** IRI is assisting the political parties to develop the issue-driven politics based on relevant researches in various areas. In addition, IRI is supporting the parties in developing their own capacities in policy analysis.

### ***Corruption***

Given the institutional environment, all parties in BiH tend to resort to corruption as of the moment they grab the executive power. By 2004, every significant political party had a chance to hold the public office and all of them proved to be more or less corrupted. According to the Transparency International's global Corruption Perception Index BiH dropped from the 70th position in 2003 in to the current 82 position.

According to the IRI's polling results, BH citizens constantly place corruption right after unemployment on the list of the biggest BiH's contemporary problems. It seems that the message never comes across to its politicians. Pervasive corruption in BiH has long-term consequences on the country's economic development. Corruption has also played a pivotal role in driving away foreign investment, because most foreign companies have refused to set up operations after demands by officials to pay bribes and do business exclusively with local party officials. Corruption in BiH creates an atmosphere of ambiguity that stymies businesses from investing and initiating operations. Certainty premised on the rule of law is a prerequisite for investment. These conditions are tremendously discouraging for investors, aimed at financing the excessive bureaucracy and kleptocracy and are keeping the unemployment rate at approximately 40% while encouraging the grey economy estimated at 50% of the country's GDP. The country remains aid dependent at the times when there are very little international sources willing to continuously fund its development, with no growth strategy of its own and sustainable structures to take BiH into the family of the European states.

The international community established several instruments to monitor corruption in BiH, such as the Office of the High Representative's Anti Fraud Unit (later the Anti-Crime and Corruption Unit – ACCU). Insufficient resources were invested in setting up and training the local institutions with the anti-

corruption mandate, particularly judiciary, prosecution, supreme audit and police. BiH has not developed yet an efficient system in fighting the corruption that would provide for long-term sustainability.

The overall time framework of the research paper development is as follows:

- Period of fieldwork: April – May 2005
- Deadline for the first draft: May 23, 2005
- Period of consulting the first draft with IRI team (presentation and round table discussions): May 30 – June 3, 2005
- Deadline for the final paper: June 15, 2005

#### Local experts' qualifications

BA in Criminology or a relevant university degree in social sciences. Local experts should have extensive knowledge in the proposed research area. It is required that the researcher previously engaged him/herself in a similar research as an author or a coauthor. Strong analytical and writing skills are also required. Practical knowledge on Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) is going to be considered as an advantage.

#### The scope of work

During the interview the applicants need to present the structure of the research, i.e. well-developed Table of Contents including all relevant areas that are going to be covered. The national research work should be done by conducting intensive two-months field research.

As a part of the overall project, successful candidates who receive the grant will have the obligation to present the research results to the parties that IRI cooperates with. The presentation will take place in July 2005. The exact dates are yet to be confirmed.

#### Deliverables

The final report should have 40-50 pages. It should be written in Bosnian language, A4 format, standard page, font – Times New Roman, font size - 12.

The paper should be delivered in electronic version to the IRI Program Coordinator, Zlatan Burzic (see contact details below).

#### Coordination, payment and supervision issues

Each national expert will be supported in his/her work by the IRI Program Coordinators (names and contacts are listed below) who will answer all relevant questions and provide clarifications and guidance during the research work.

The payments will be done within three working days since the final version of the document was submitted.

## Attachment L

### Terms of Reference – Macroeconomic Aspects and Business Sector in BiH

IRI Policy Analysis Pilot Project

March 1, 2005

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#### **For research work in the area of Macroeconomic Aspects and Business Sector in BiH**

Specific grant of International Republican Institute within the program of Policy Analysis

#### **Basic information**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) was founded in 1983, as a nonprofit nonpartisan organization dedicated to advancing democracy, freedom, self-government and the rule of law worldwide. IRI programs are nonpartisan and adhere to the fundamental American principles of individual freedom, equal opportunity and the entrepreneurial spirit that fosters economic development. IRI Office in Bosnia and Herzegovina was opened in December 2005.

**The goal of this particular project is to establish the link between local independent researchers and/or think tanks on one side, and moderate, democratic political parties on the other side.** IRI is assisting the political parties to develop the issue-driven politics based on relevant researches in various areas. In addition, IRI is supporting the parties in developing their own capacities in policy analysis.

#### ***Macroeconomic aspects of BiH***

The specific transition taking place after the devastating war combined with the imperative of bringing BiH closer to EU membership impose the need to research the macroeconomic aspects of the accession of BiH to the European Union. The morphology of the BiH state itself and its fragmented jurisdictions immediately forces the question of the ability of BiH institutions to respond to the requirements of the process of negotiations in getting closer to the EU (ACQUIS). Taking into consideration the rules of the monetary arrangement (Currency Board) and other particular elements of the BiH economy it can be seen that there are a number of potential critical areas in the overall process. Key macroeconomic indicators (GDP, economic growth, employment rate, macroeconomic stability and trade balance) would clarify the "price" of accession to the EU and emphasize the critical areas for conforming to the "convergence criteria".

Integration into the economic and monetary union poses numerous challenges for BiH and its designers of economic policies. The strengthening of the BiH economy into one that would be capable of competitive within the EU market must be imposed as an imperative. The key issues are how to achieve an increase in the competitiveness of the macroeconomic environment, identifying the priority actions required and highlighting the expected effects within the time frame necessary to carry out the required changes. The reforms of the power industry sector and the economic aspects of adjusting to the EU standards require specific attention.



## **Business Sector in BiH**

Administrative barriers to private business are numerous and BiH runs the highest per capita costs for setting up a business and has the highest social and fiscal contributions in the region. BiH still has the longest registration procedures of a new business. The customs procedures both when importing and exporting take several times longer than in the neighboring countries. Similar is the case of business compliance and inspections. Corruption has also played a pivotal role in driving away foreign investment, because most foreign companies have refused to set up operations after demands by officials to pay bribes and do business exclusively with local party officials. Corruption in BiH creates an atmosphere of ambiguity that stymies businesses from investing and initiating operations. No significant multinational manufacturing or trade business has invested any capital in BiH either.

The overall time framework of the research paper development is as follows:

- Period of fieldwork: April – May 2005
- Deadline for the first draft: May 23, 2005
- Period of consulting the first draft with IRI team (presentation and round table discussions): May 30 – June 3, 2005
- Deadline for the final paper: June 15, 2005

### Local experts' qualifications

BA in Economy, Business Administration or equivalent. Local experts should have extensive knowledge in the proposed research area. It is required that the researcher previously engaged him/herself in a similar research as an author or a coauthor. Strong analytical and writing skills are also required. Practical knowledge on Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) is going to be considered as an advantage.

### The scope of work

During the interview the applicants need to present the structure of the research, i.e. well-developed Table of Contents including all relevant areas that are going to be covered. The national research work should be done by conducting intensive two-months field research.

As a part of the overall project, successful candidates who receive the grant will have the obligation to present the research results to the parties that IRI cooperates with. The presentation will take place in July 2005. The exact dates are yet to be confirmed.

### Deliverables

The final report should have 40-50 pages. It should be written in Bosnian language, A4 format, standard page, font – Times New Roman, font size - 12.

The paper should be delivered in electronic version to the IRI Program Coordinator, Zlatan Burzic (see contact details below).

### Coordination, payment and supervision issues

Each national expert will be supported in his/her work by the IRI Program Coordinators (names and contacts are listed bellow) who will answer all relevant questions and provide clarifications and guidance during the research work.

The payments will be done within three working days since the final version of the document was submitted.

## Attachment M

### Terms of Reference – Judicial Reform in BiH

IRI Policy Analysis Pilot Project

March 1, 2005

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### For research work on Evaluation of Judicial Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Specific grant of International Republican Institute within the program of Policy Analysis

#### Basic information

The International Republican Institute (IRI) was founded in 1983, as a nonprofit nonpartisan organization dedicated to advancing democracy, freedom, self-government and the rule of law worldwide. IRI programs are nonpartisan and adhere to the fundamental American principles of individual freedom, equal opportunity and the entrepreneurial spirit that fosters economic development. IRI Office in Bosnia and Herzegovina was opened in December 2005.

**The goal of this particular project is to establish the link between local independent researchers and/or think tanks on one side, and moderate, democratic political parties on the other side.** IRI is assisting the political parties to develop the issue-driven politics based on relevant researches in various areas. In addition, IRI is supporting the parties in developing their own capacities in policy analysis.

#### Evaluation of Judicial Reform

Judicial Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the most important reforms that started early 2000, later developed through the mission of Independent Judicial Commission (IJC) with the support of the Office of High Representative (OHR) and according to Peace Implementation Council (PIC) suggestions. Since 2002 it was coordinated by OHR's Rule of Law Task Force. The Judicial reform was introduced as long lasting process with a lot of obstacles in front of it but in the same time necessary for future functioning of the state. The reform had a strong political and financial support from international community in order to provide independent, efficient and uncorrupted judiciary as the third strong branch of the state mechanism beside the legislative and executive branch.

However, this reform was understood as a taboo for all the political parties since they were accused to undermine the reform of independent judiciary every time when they tried to comment the reforms. At the same time the employees in judicial system were confused and afraid for their future. Therefore, there was no evaluation of this process. Since, it was international community project, and taboo for political parties but not interesting for NGO sector the public do not know the real situation nor any evaluation was presented.

The goal of this research would be to investigate and evaluate the Judicial Reform Process so far and to offer some solutions to possible problems in this process. Moreover, it should suggest the areas and methods how political parties (PPs) and NGOs can be involved in evaluation without being accused on undermining the reforms. The research should provide for the ability to overcome politicizing over the topic and direct it towards the efficiency of the judicial system and bringing it to the EU standards.

The research should take into the consideration the following:

- The role and the influence of High Judicial and Prosecutors Councils of BiH, its independence, party affiliation, cohesion.
- The role and the influence of the Constitutional Courts in BiH and entities, their independence, party affiliation, cohesion.
- The efficiency of the structure of judicial system from municipal, through regional to the Supreme Court, their internal communications and hierarchy
- The role of International Community and their representatives, their cohesion and influence on the judiciary
- The possible communication problems between the Courts and Prosecutor offices as well as with the police forces.
- The methods how PPs and NGOs can utilized the research and be more supportive and productive in overall process without politicizing it
- The research and evaluation needs to give the short-term and long-term recommendations on the issues.

The research team has to develop the presentation which should be presented to the PP and NGO representatives in understandable way with clear picture what they can do to improve the judicial system and to understand it better in order to do that.

The research team should be able to present the evaluation and to discuss on the topic, and provide the answers on the OHR – PPs relations when the judicial system is the topic.

The research team should be opened for the future contacts with PPs and NGOs on this issue in order to build the link between PPs and experts in certain fields.

The overall time framework of the research paper development is as follows:

- Period of fieldwork: April – May 2005
- Deadline for the first draft: May 23, 2005
- Period of consulting the first draft with IRI team (presentation and round table discussions): May 30 – June 3, 2005
- Deadline for the final paper: June 15, 2005

Local experts' qualifications

The local experts should have a relevant university degree in Law and extensive knowledge in the proposed research area. It is required that the researcher previously engaged him/herself in a similar research as an author or a coauthor. Strong analytical and writing skills are also required.

The scope of work

During the interview the applicants need to present the structure of the research, i.e. well-developed Table of Contents including all relevant areas that are going to be covered. The national research work should be done by conducting intensive two-months field research.

As a part of the overall project, successful candidates who receive the grant will have the obligation to present the research results to the parties that IRI cooperates with. The presentation will take place in July 2005. The exact dates are yet to be confirmed.

#### Deliverables

The final report should have 40-50 pages. It should be written in Bosnian language, A4 format, standard page, font – Times New Roman, font size - 12.

The paper should be delivered in electronic version to the IRI Program Coordinator, Zlatan Burzic (see contact details below).

#### Coordination, payment and supervision issues

Each national expert will be supported in his/her work by the IRI Program Coordinators (names and contacts are listed below) who will answer all relevant questions and provide clarifications and guidance during the research work.

The payments will be done within three working days since the final version of the document was submitted.

## Attachment N

### Terms of Reference – Public Administration Reform in BiH

#### IRI Policy Analysis Pilot Project

March 1, 2005

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#### **For research work in the area of Public Administration Reform**

Specific grant of International Republican Institute within the program of Policy Analysis

#### **Basic information**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) was founded in 1983, as a nonprofit nonpartisan organization dedicated to advancing democracy, freedom, self-government and the rule of law worldwide. IRI programs are nonpartisan and adhere to the fundamental American principles of individual freedom, equal opportunity and the entrepreneurial spirit that fosters economic development. IRI Office in Bosnia and Herzegovina was opened in December 2005.

**The goal of this particular project is to establish the link between local independent researchers and/or think tanks on one side, and moderate, democratic political parties on the other side.** IRI is assisting the political parties to develop the issue-driven politics based on relevant researches in various areas. In addition, IRI is supporting the parties in developing their own capacities in policy analysis.

#### ***Public Administration Reform***

A round of IRI's polling demonstrated that the vast majority of BH citizens are not satisfied with the work performance of the public administration regardless of level of authority. While there are many actors working on public administration reform in Bosnia not much of the analytical material has been produced. The "Public Administration Reforms" document produced by BH Government in March 2003 proved that public administration fails to meet the needs and expectations of citizens. The RS Government's "Action Plan For Civil Service Reform 2003-2006" was prepared and introduced. The state of BiH is obliged to ensure that every citizen has the right and opportunity to take part in public affairs directly or indirectly through freely chosen representatives. Citizens have the right to take part in public assemblies, which have the power to make decisions about local issues and it is the state's responsibility to enable citizens to exercise this right. Finally, the state is obliged to ensure access to public services without any form of discrimination, and thus has the responsibility to ensure that policies well-disseminated and that people have equal access to such information.

Some of the most important causes to the current undesirable state of public administration are the practices of favoring one's own ethnicity or political party affiliations; public participation in the area public affairs is still limited although mechanisms for communication and information are in place; non-transparent and non-merit based recruitment; lack of effective fiscal decentralization; lack of strategic development planning. A clear legal framework that provides for the system of transparency and accountability within the civil service is not yet in place. The existing administrative capacities in BiH are considerably weaker than it is necessary for a country negotiating the EU membership. The administration is slow and non-transparent. Employees are under-qualified and quite often lack the skills required for working in public administration, while the overall system has never been standardized

among different levels of authority. The principles of professionalism and nonpolitical stance in the work of the civil service are only slowly taking place.

BiH is conducting important reforms related to preparations for the EU accession. The success of this huge effort will depend on the pace of implementation of the public administration reform. However, although it is important that the entire BiH legislation is aligned with the EU system, its efficient implementation through appropriate administrative and judicial structures in BiH, is even more important. It is necessary to develop the public administration that will be efficient, professional, accountable, transparent and capable of implementing the *Acquis Communautaire*.

The overall time framework of the research paper development is as follows:

- Period of fieldwork: April – May 2005
- Deadline for the first draft: May 23, 2005
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- Deadline for the final paper: June 15, 2005

Local experts' qualifications

a relevant university degree in social sciences. Local experts should have extensive knowledge in the proposed research area. It is required that the researcher previously engaged him/herself in a similar research as an author or a coauthor. Strong analytical and writing skills are also required. Practical knowledge on Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) is going to be considered as an advantage.

The scope of work

During the interview the applicants need to present the structure of the research, i.e. well-developed Table of Contents including all relevant areas that are going to be covered. The national research work should be done by conducting intensive two-months field research.

As a part of the overall project, successful candidates who receive the grant will have the obligation to present the research results to the parties that IRI cooperates with. The presentation will take place in July 2005. The exact dates are yet to be confirmed.

Deliverables

The final report should have 40-50 pages. It should be written in Bosnian language, A4 format, standard page, font – Times New Roman, font size - 12.

The paper should be delivered in electronic version to the IRI Program Coordinator, Zlatan Burzic (see contact details below).

Coordination, payment and supervision issues

Each national expert will be supported in his/her work by the IRI Program Coordinators (names and contacts are listed below) who will answer all relevant questions and provide clarifications and guidance during the research work.

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## Attachment O

### Terms of Reference – Health and Social Sector Reform in BiH

#### IRI Policy Analysis Pilot Project

March 1, 2005

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#### For research work in the area of Social and Health Sector

Specific grant of International Republican Institute within the program of Policy Analysis

#### Basic information

The International Republican Institute (IRI) was founded in 1983, as a nonprofit nonpartisan organization dedicated to advancing democracy, freedom, self-government and the rule of law worldwide. IRI programs are nonpartisan and adhere to the fundamental American principles of individual freedom, equal opportunity and the entrepreneurial spirit that fosters economic development. IRI Office in Bosnia and Herzegovina was opened in December 2005.

**The goal of this particular project is to establish the link between local independent researchers and/or think tanks on one side, and moderate, democratic political parties on the other side.** IRI is assisting the political parties to develop the issue-driven politics based on relevant researches in various areas. In addition, IRI is supporting the parties in developing their own capacities in policy analysis.

#### *Social sector and health sector*

There is a remarkable shortage of quality data on social and health sectors in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The transition from a state-owned to a free-market economy, which has resulted in job losses; inadequate legal framework without consistent criteria to determine eligibility for benefits; lack of adequate monitoring mechanisms for implementing existing laws, general lack of financial, material and human resources to provide adequate services for social protection beneficiaries; the increasing number of female-headed households; and the lack of adequate opportunities for work and income generation are causes to rising social needs. Many vulnerable groups, such as the elderly, people with special needs, female heads of households, returnees, civilian war victims and civilian disabled are affected by these problems. Without an accurate picture of contemporary Bosnian society, government interventions in areas such as poverty reduction or infrastructure development cannot be targeted effectively.

The responsibility for implementing social welfare policy and providing social welfare services lies with the RS as an entity and with Federation cantons. There is no BiH-wide social security law. In the RS, the basic law that regulates social protection is from 1993 and was amended in 1996, while the Federation adopted its social protection law in 1999. However, ensuring the realization of rights that are evenly covered by the existing laws is very difficult. The entities need to adopt unified legislation and to insure the implementation of the existing laws.



## Health sector

The health sector was significantly damaged during the recent war and has not made significant gains in the post-war period. Therefore, BiH is facing difficulties in ensuring some of the basic requirements in regard to the right to good health. Some of the major problems within the health sector are unequal access to the health care facilities and only partial accommodation of vulnerable categories' needs; inconsistent and inadequate legal framework; many health and medical services are unavailable; health care quality is often poor, especially in terms of qualified medical personnel; environmental problems have significant impact on the health sector; ethnically-based system of health care within some areas in BiH not inspire trust in medical services

Entity health care and health insurance laws state that every citizen is entitled to health care and to health insurance under the conditions prescribed by the laws. In both entities, health institutions are obliged to provide continuous health care, according to the needs of citizens and the forms of health care services they provide. The RS and Federation health ministries are obliged to undertake all the measures, provide conditions and carry out all the necessary actions for the implementation of the guaranteed rights, prescribed by the mentioned laws. In the Federation, the cantons are further obliged to provide the realization of the rights to health insurance and the means for constructing, equipping and establishing health institutions. Furthermore, the Public Health Institute of the FBiH and the RS Bureau of Health Protection are highly-specialized medical institutions that are obliged to monitor the health of the population and to undertake measures to prevent the spread of contagious disease at the source, with the aim of eliminating risk factors in the environment and improving the health of the population. BiH as a state needs to ensure that the health care system is accessible to all without any form of discrimination, including access to information and knowledge on basic health. In addition, BiH should take appropriate measures to eliminate every discriminatory practice in providing health services, as well as to establish a mechanism to protect people's equal right to health. Although it is important that the entire BiH legislation is aligned with the European system, its efficient implementation, through appropriate administrative and judicial structures in BiH, is even more important.

The overall time framework of the research paper development is as follows:

- Period of fieldwork: April – May 2005
- Deadline for the first draft: May 23, 2005
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